

THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION
IN KENTUCKY.Message of Gov. Robinson.—A Precious
Species of Border-State Unionism.

The first part of the message of Gov. Robinson is devoted to a brief review of the origin of the Rebellion, the course Kentucky has pursued, and the aid she has rendered to the National Government. He approves of the grant made by Congress for the establishment of agricultural colleges, and recommends the Legislature to take steps to comply with the conditions of the grant. The second part of the message is devoted to the Slavery question, in relation to the President's Proclamation of Emancipation. This portion we give in full:

After this cursory view of the condition of the State as an independent member of the Republic, and in the conduct of whose affairs you, as the Legislative Department, take the initiative in what is directory in the management of them, I proceed now to the consideration of the attitude which Kentucky has occupied in the inauguration and prosecution of the unhappy civil war that convulses the nation, and its consequences affects the civilized world.

And here let me premise that Kentucky stands guiltless of all the blood that has been shed in this deplorable controversy. From the countless battle-fields, covered with the bodies of the slain, none can arise to arm her as the cause of the slaughter.

From the beginning her voice has been for peace in every conceivable mode in which that voice could find utterance, was he heard begging and imploring for peace. She spoke to the nation through her Legislature—through her representatives in Congress—through a special delegation sent to the Peace Convention at Washington; and still more recently and emphatically, in the Border-State Convention held in this city. And to her, belongs the high honor of proposing to the Congress, through our distinguished and venerable statesman and patriot, a compromise, known as the "Crittenden Resolution," which, if adopted, would have settled the controversy upon terms fair, just, and honorable to all, and which must in the end be the basis of any satisfactory adjustment consistent with the present Constitution. Every sensible consideration, affecting other national, State, or individual welfare, prompted her so to act. She regarded the integrity of the nation as her buckler against foreign interference, and her shield against internal disturbance. She regarded the State as sovereign within her chartered limits for all purposes, not specially committed to a national Constitutional Government. And looking beyond mere Governmental regulations she considered carefully the happiness of the individual citizen, and properly concluded that it could only be secured by a strict adherence to the Constitution of the United States and a maintenance of the undelegated powers themselves. In this latter view she had, at a very early period of our national history, eminently distinguished herself, and shown how sensitive she was upon even the appearance of any encroachment upon the rights of the States. In her zeal in defense of those rights, she overstepped the limits of State power, something must be pardoned to the excitement of 1776, which in resisting encroachment fell into an error by constructively asserting for the States, an antagonistic to national usurpation, powers equally inconsistent with the existence of the stability of the Republic. At least such has been the argument upon the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of that period. But even then it was never contended that redress was to be sought for on the part of the Union and not in it. While nullification was declared to be the rightful remedy, it was, as explained by Mr. Madison, only to hold in abeyance the exercise of power until the question of jurisdiction could be settled by the writer provided for in the National Constitution. Her whole history is a story of unceasing, loyal people. She has shown this in peace and in war. The war of 1812 with Mexico was signalized by Kentucky's valor, and the colors of our men were left upon every battle-field. And when, too, the first germ of this rebellion opened in South Carolina, upon the pretext of an oppressive tariff, no State was more severe in its denunciation, and none more efficient to suppress it. But, whatever of glory she may have achieved, either combating the foreign enemies of the country, or in its diplomacy, or in the National councils, it will all be eclipsed by the manner in which she has borne herself in the present awful crisis. The future historian will give to her the praise of having been calm when all others were excited—as having been far above all mere questions of pecuniary interest or of party success, and self-preserved and self-sustained, placing herself upon the Constitution and the Union and the rights of the States, she placed herself and all that she had upon the altar of patriotism.

To do this was no easy task. In the angry confusion which preceded hostilities, and in the complication of party issues, the Legislative and Executive Departments of the State Government had been placed in hands known to be Southern in their sympathies, and disposed to obstruct the General Government in the exercise of its legitimate powers. A revolution at home had first to be effected, and this was done by appeals to the reason and justice of the people themselves. The loyal men of Kentucky, with profound wisdom, endeavored to keep the State out of this disastrous quarrel, and to maintain, so long as it was practicable, an informal neutrality, under cover of which she might the more powerfully address herself to the people of the North and of the South, and bring them to reason. She therefore threw herself like a massive wall, between the two-exaggerated sections, hoping that, from her central position—being corroborated by the great Western States, and having the great rivers of the Cumberland and Tennessee debouching within her borders, and upward of seven hundred miles of coast on the Ohio and the "Inland Sea"—her geographical importance, if nothing else, might cause her voice to be heard. But during this whole trying interval she was, against Secession, against Abolitionists, against aggressors; yet she never guilty of the folly of denying to the Nation the right to the exercise of any power in this State that were conceded to it in either. The right to possess forts and hospitals and of transit for troops, was too unquestionable to be controverted, how much soever the necessity for its exercise might be denied. Kentucky neutrality never meant anything like this, although it was already seized upon by Southern sympathizers and construed to be a declaration of war against the Union. All her efforts proved unavailing—the Southern heart was fixed—the fatal blow was struck at Charleston, and Kentucky herself was seized upon as "military necessity" by Southern Generals. When example, entreaty, and supplication had all failed, Kentucky was compelled to choose between Union or dissolution. She unhesitatingly ranged herself under the old flag of our country, and, painful as the alternative was, the threw all of her energies into the contest, and has responded, from that moment up to this hour, to every legitimate call upon her by the Government for men or means with which to prosecute the war to a successful issue. She has furnished fifty-one regiments and two batteries for the field, and the battles of Mill Springs, Fort Donelson and Shiloh, at the Sandy, at Vicksburg, at the Cumberland Gap, at Perryville, and last, though not least, at Murfreesboro, availed for the bravery of her troops and the skill of her officers.

From this brief but vain-glory allusion to the action of Kentucky, one would naturally suppose that so much blood and so much sacrifice would have endeared her to all the States, and that her rights would have been most religiously regarded. But has it been so? Has Kentucky no right to complain of a disregard of those rights, and frequently of a wanton violation of them? Let this important question be unanswered by setting forth the wrongs she has suffered, and which daily increase in frequency and violence. She has a right to complain, that since the occurrence of her country by the Union troops, the rights of property have not been duly respected. Under the specious plea of "military necessity," farms have been laid waste, provisions have been seized, horses have been collected, and instead of being bought in open market where the supply would have gone with taxes and soldiers, the farmers, at grain and other costs from the farmers, at grain and other costs from the commissioners' stores to affix to them, and latterly regardless whether the farmers could speak with them or not, and instead of prompt payment, leaving

in its stead cumbersome certificates, which have to pass through many hands before they are properly settled, and then to pass into the general vortex of governmental claims. In consequence of this oppressive and inexorable, because unnecessary, conduct, many of our farmers have been deprived of the means of subsisting their families during the present winter, and the direct and consequential losses to them have been ruinous in the extreme. Yet even this might have, and has, been borne as one of the unpleasant concomitants that follow the march and encampments of troops; but still it is a matter of wonder to Kentuckians why a different route exists on the opposite side of the river.

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I call your attention to these as among the many annoyances our people endure; and perhaps they complain less of them because there looms before them a more gigantic evil—the bare contemplation of which chills the heart and fills all with gloomy and dreadful forebodings. I call to the disturbance of the slave property of Kentucky.

Whether it would have been better for her that the institution had never been incorporated in her native polity it is useless now to inquire. It was brought from our old mother, Virginia, and by men who had fought through the Revolutionary war until its triumph conclusion. Whatever Utopian notions there may be about African liberty, those men had achieved American freedom. It came among us unencumbered with prejudices, and the gradual growth of a century of mutual accommodation until the relative rights of master and slave were fully understood and so administered as to lead to mutual prosperity and advancement. The African captive, the creature of unscrupulous ignorance and greediness, was gradually emerging from his savage cruelty, was gradually emerging from the low estate to one of comprehension of the true principles of the Christian religion and human civilization. He brought his soul and worshiped with fervor and intelligence the Great God of the Universe. To such an extent had this education progressed, that at this day, and in the State, to compare the American of African descent with his Calle or Hottentot progenitor would be absurd. This advancement has been under the tutelage of a humane but necessary subjection to a superior race, and if false humanity violates it, the result will be, that the "American of African descent" must either revert to his original barbarism, or perish from the earth, the victim of a liberty he could not appreciate or the victim of vices that have already exterminated the aboriginal savage.

Kentucky, in separating from the "Old Dominion," engrossed the institution upon her own fundamental law, and from that day to this it has been uninterruptedly protected by her own Constitutional and Legislative enactments. Her rights to the species of property has never been questioned. It is enacted in the National Government, has been protected by Congressional provision for its recovery, and solemnly adjudicated by the Supreme Court. Kentucky held it liable to the incidents of the status, and bore with much patience the losses sustained by those who were fugitives from labor. She lost annually from this cause more than any State in the Union; yet she never attempted violence in its recovery. Although she had much complaint against fanatic citizens of the Northwest States, she felt the force of the distinction between irresponsible individuals and the acts of those great Commonwealths. She therefore did not consider these vexatious interferences from her neighbors as just cause for her to break up the fraternity of sister States, or to reck redress outside of the Constitution of the United States. She was aware that that instrument, faithfully administered, constituted her best safeguard for her slave and every other species of property, and when an attempt was made to deprive her from her allegiance she "frowned indignantly" upon the first seductive enticements to her loyalty. In the antecedent pretexts and preparations for the rebellion, she was the first to expose the fallacy of the "peculiar institution" and one of the most eloquent and one of but little practical value, located on indifference upon the Kansas imbroglio—regarding it as more speculative than of real importance, considering that according to the conceded rights of the States each Territory, on becoming a State, would settle the question according to the view it took of its own interests, and hence in the Presidential election, while she chose for her own candidate one who maintained the abstract view of the Southern question, she was glad to see the North side encircling in their Chicago platform a distinct disavowal of any right or purpose to interfere with Slavery in the States where it already existed by law. To this position the successful candidate was unmistakably committed; and hence it was, that Kentucky was disappointed by the defeat of her own candidate, she felt hopeful that no impassable barrier had been presented to a peaceful adjustment of all pending difficulties. She never allowed herself for one moment to stop to discuss the value of the Union. In her estimation nothing could compare with it in value, or compensate for its loss; and hence, when the Southern politicians made bare their treacherous purposes, regardless of the disruption it made in her social fabric, and the utter derangement of their own commercial interests, she took her stand on the side of the Union, and maintained it with her treasure and her blood. The *Constitution of the Union has not yet been changed, and with her consent never shall be.*

But since the commencement of this civil war, there has suddenly grown up a theory outside and above the Constitution, and a new doctrine has been introduced into practical exhibition—that military necessity is not to be measured by constitutional limits, but must be the judge of the extent of its power. As an offshoot from this political heresy there have appeared among us not only Anti-Slavery propagandists, but men who have actually presumed to override our own State laws and turn regiments who have been brought here ostensibly for our protection into cities of refuge for runaway slaves. To such an extent has this been carried, that not only have our citizens been driven from the camps where they have tried to protect their property into the possession of fed rations, but the white slaves have been prevented from serving any purpose for their recovery. This high-handed and impudent conduct is daily and hourly weakening the cause of the Union, and paralyzing the efforts to suppress the rebellion. And, addition to all this, it is putting the State to imminent peril. It is asking too much of the citizen to expect him to fold his arms in quiet submission when his property is taken from him in his presence, and to be rudely thrust aside at the point of the bayonet when he attempts to reclaim it. Your State laws are already ample for redress of offenses against the property of the citizen, as the same have been ordinarily committed, but I suggest to you the propriety of other and more stringent laws against the infamous practice of Abolition soldiers in this particular, and to do this effectually there should be a declaration of war against the Union. All this effort proved unavailing—the Southern heart was fixed—the fatal blow was struck at Charleston, and Kentucky herself was seized upon as "military necessity" by Southern Generals. When example, entreaty, and supplication had all failed, Kentucky was compelled to choose between Union or dissolution. She unhesitatingly ranged herself under the old flag of our country, and, painful as the alternative was, the threw all of her energies into the contest, and has responded, from that moment up to this hour, to every legitimate call upon her by the Government for men or means with which to prosecute the war to a successful issue. She has furnished fifty-one regiments and two batteries for the field, and the battles of Mill Springs, Fort Donelson and Shiloh, at the Sandy, at Vicksburg, and last, though not least, at Murfreesboro, availed for the bravery of her troops and the skill of her officers.

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THE BANKS OF NEW YORK.

Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Bank Department.

The number of banks, banking associations, and individual bankers doing business within the State at the close of the fiscal year, was three hundred and five. There were, at the same period, in addition to the number just stated, fifty-three closing and insolvent banks, whose notes are in process of reorganization, or under the care of the Superintendent of the Bank Department.

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